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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the background of the language situation in Guam, comparing the findings of a 1966 survey to the present situation. Apparent changes both in the language situation and in attitudes towards language and some of the causative factors involved in the changes are discussed. The study currently underway, which utilizes informal interviews and participant observation, shows that those who use English as a first language are essentially all of those 12 years old or younger. Noting this as a rough cut-off point, the paper considers whether one might predict that Chamorro, the indigenous language of Guam, will fade when these 12-year-olds are the oldest living generation. The paper further notes that the demise of the last Chamorro speaker on Guam is not likely to be the last trace of effect that the language has. Some of the characteristics of the English currently spoken there, which are now being investigated, are very likely to be retained. The present paper also considers what internal and external motivations have brought about the situation of Chamorro succumbing to English. (Author/CLK)

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Change in Language Situation and Attitudes in a Multilingual Society[1]

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In a paper presented a few years back (Vesper, 1973) one of the authors reported on some of the attitudes toward language on Guam. The present paper is intended as an interm report on a changed situation. To some extent it represents a logical development from that former state but in part it represents the intrusion of unforeseeable factors.

Those familiar with the former state of affairs on Guam know that there has been a more or less positive program for the elimination of Chamorro from the island since the advent of American domination about 1899. While the program was sometimes ineffective and uneven that was a result of implementation, not goals.

At an early stage an attempt was made to impose an American school system, at least for the first few grades. The previous Spanish system had been a function of the established Church. This was countered upon the U.S. occupation by setting up the American school

[1]This paper is part of the on-going two-year sociolinguistic research project conducted on Guam by the authors, supported by National Science Foundation Grant SOC 73-05780 A01, Don R. Vesper, Principal Investigator.

under supervision of the Navy chaplin and assuring that only Protestant chaplins were assigned to the Guam Naval Station. This was effective in respect to the native civilian population because the total of Guam was made a Naval base with the Captain of the base in total charge of the island.

This program of propagating English through the schools continued.[1] First American teachers were imported. Later more and more Guamanian teachers were trained and took over many teaching positions in the schools. During all of the period of U.S. control until the Japanese captured Guam in 1941, however, the stateside[2] dependent children were segregated from Guamanian children.

[1]Much of the earlier information in respect to Guam is based on Thompson (1947). Some of her work has been confirmed by local informants.

[2]The term "stateside" or "statesider" will be used here in various ways: e.g. in the broad sense to refer to persons of European descent whether they are permanent Guam residents or not and whether they come from the U.S. or not or a narrow sense that usually refers to whites from the U.S. "Haole" is a recent introduction from Hawaii not used generally in 1966 and will not be used in this paper. "Guamanian" generally will refer to those of indigenous origin here though its use on Guam may be broadening in meaning. It may also be used to refer to the Chamorro spoken on Guam.

After the recapture of Guam in 1944 and the end of World War II, the school system began importing large numbers of contract teachers. At the same time stateside civilian population rose to new levels. Apparently, as the number of stateside students increased because of large numbers of military dependents and supporting personnel on Guam during cold war times, the separate dependent school was abandoned. Guamanian children were no longer segregated.

The result was a situation of increased pressure to abandon Chamorro as a school language. Where the Spanish Catholic church recognized Chamorro to the extent of teaching literacy in the language and using liturgical material in the language, the American secular school was another story.

As was the norm in the U.S. when there were speakers of non-English, it was generally assumed that everyone needed to learn English and it was expected that these speakers would do so as best they could and proceed with the business of getting an American education. One difference that may have been overlooked was that, unlike the mainland U.S., Guam did not provide an English-

speaking milieu for the learner. Thus this generally inefficient attempt to change the local language through the schools was less effective than it might have been in the states. This attempt was in progress in 1966-67 when the authors' initial direct contact with the island situation took place. However, there were at least some hints of the significant changes taking place which will be discussed below. Now in 1975, there are further new factors of which there was little hint. Some changes have taken place which can be seen in retrospect, at least, to have the seeds sown by 1966. Some changes could not have been anticipated. It seems appropriate to discuss the situation of early 1960 along with some of the potentially important components of the situation.

In the early 1960's the English courses at the College of Guam[1] were apparently in trouble. A great

[1] In order to cope with confusion of writing about an institution which has changed its name it will be called by the name used at the time being referred to. It should be understood that the University of Guam is the current name of the same institution which shows significant quanitative and qualitative improvement since its youthful days of the early '60's.

many freshmen students were flunking beginning English. This situation was not unique in American colleges, of course. Neither was the solution tried at the College of Guam. A "Bonehead English" course was established as was usual in mainland U.S. colleges. However, the results were unsatisfying to the staff since the percentage who were flunking the bonehead course was especially high. Eventually it was realized, if somewhat dimly at first, that something more complex was involved than in the usual mainland situation. A great many of the students were not native speakers of English.

It may be difficult to see, in the blazing light of our present knowledge and competence, how this could have been overlooked as an important factor. However, a great deal of credit is due those on the staff who faced up to the problem, considering the general situation. Years had been spent by various arms of Guam's Naval Government shaming local people in every area of cultural difference from the U.S. Not being able to speak English was included in these many reasons for shame. One result was that no one was able to admit to any lack of English competence, no

matter how evident, at any level. Students graduated from English speaking schools and thus must, by definition, speak English. Since [redacted] nothing to the contrary was said, the recently arrived faculty of both high schools and College often had no reason to think otherwise. At any rate when the English faculty overtly recognized this, this was the real beginning of an English as a Second Language program on Guam and, we can now see in retrospect, a pivotal point in Guam's language situation.

As a response to the now overtly recognized second language problem, a course in English as a Second Language was established at the College. This was implemented by a cooperative arrangement with the East-West Center in Hawaii and the University of Hawaii. Two staff members at the College received minimal training in linguistics and a graduate student from Hawaii was initially given support by the East-West Center as supplemental college staff.

This program included the design of a course in Chamorro and setting up an ESL course. In 1966

the program had had only minor overt effect at most levels of the public school system. No English courses of second language orientation were taught below the level of the last two years in high school as a regular part of the course offerings.[1] However, part of the program included an increase in linguistically oriented College courses required of education majors. This training was beginning to have some effect on the orientation of some of the teachers. There were some who recognized that some school problems could be traced to language problems.

At the same time among the local community leaders of the island there was a vocal and probably predominate group who reflected the standard unicultural outlook of the U.S. There was no idea of not identifying with the U.S. and there was no reason to think in any but American terms for the educational system. None of the newly introduced linguistic orientation seemed to have reached that group at the time in question. In other quarters there was still strong pressure from the Navy for learning English, even over and above the efforts

[1] But see below concerning an individual experiment in junior high.

of the public schools. Civilian employees of the Navy were required to attend and pass English courses as part of their apprentice training programs for, for example, machinists.

The relatively new English as a second language program and related Chamorro and linguistic programs were not clearly oriented to either a bilingual goal or to the elimination of Chamorro. This was in part a function of the situation at the college, a continuity problem.

In the case of the ESL course individual sections varied widely from instructor to instructor as well, in spite of any efforts by the head of the program to standardize the program. In a given instructor's course the policies might be implemented in one way while in another section they might seem very different. Because of this it is difficult to say in a definitive way what the effective policy of the program was at the classroom level. An example of this can be seen in the following case. The supervisor of the program was surprised to hear a student who had previously studied in the program say that Chamorro had no real use

or practical value. Upon further inquiry the student admitted to the parroting of a statement reflecting the conviction of one of the instructors in the program.

Even if the statement had been used as merely an heuristic device, it was counter to the supervisor's philosophy concerning program goals and not consistant in outlook with a program which taught Chamorro. In spite of that, for the students exposed to an instructor of that conviction, the official philosophy was irrelevant and might as well have been the elimination of Chamorro.

As was mentioned earlier, the Chamorro course had been designed for the College to accompany the ESL program. Potentially such a course would appear to play some part in the Guam language situation so this possibility should be considered.

The Chamorro course was consistant with the theoretical practice accepted at that time for such language programs, at least in some situations. Frankly, considering what was going on at that point, it would be easy to write off the Chamorro course as tokenism in today's terms.

It was probably not so intended. However, it was not clear that the Chamorro course had been consistently taught up to 1966.[1] In the fall of 1966, for example, the course appeared in proposed offerings but essentially no one knew who placed it there or who could teach it. Apparently it had been taught in various forms for some time in spite of the irregularity. In 1966-67, during the tenure of the co-authors at the College, the departmental policy was to teach the Chamorro course to statesiders, not Guamanians. The assumption, probably a valid one, was that there was nothing the Guamanian could learn from the course since it was an aural-oral (audio-lingual in more recent parlance) course and not a discussion of linguistic structure per se.

[1] There was a great problem at that time with continuity at the College, since almost all employees were "contract employees" who were hired from the U.S. for 2 years and who frequently left after the minimum time or even before. This led to a surprising lack of knowledge or records of what went on one or two years earlier. This appears to have changed very significantly at the University as a great deal more stability in the faculty developed.

It was apparent, however, that at other times the Chamorro course had been taught in another theoretical framework and to a different potential clientele. Native speakers had upon occasion taken the course taught as a traditional classical grammar course by a local priest. Goals and content were evidently quite different.

In some cases younger students proposed taking the course in 1966-67 because they "didn't speak Chamorro well" and wished to "improve their Chamorro". These students frequently knew others who had taken the "classical" style course and their reasons certainly made sense in context of that style course.

If the question of "not speaking Chamorro well" was pursued, it appeared that this generally meant that the student's language was a great deal different than their grandparents' or at least was seen to be. Sometimes the judgement was that of the student but often is not the grandparent felt that way.

It is not really clear what effect this course, inconsistant as it was, had on the situation. One of the students of the 1966 course, at that time was a public

health educator in the Dept. of Public Health who used the language in public lectures. It is clear from his reports that this helped establish rapport in a manner that was relatively uncommon in activities where statesiders worked with a Guamanian, especially as he used it and improved.

Two students were statesiders who had Chamorro family ties. The norm of many Chamorro-stateside marriages in the states is that English is spoken in the home.[1] On Guam it isn't quite so clear and in these cases, presumably, the statesiders wished to participate in family affairs to a greater extent.

Another of the students was a junior high school teacher who was a teacher of students with reading difficulties. This course and College linguistic courses had a definite influence in this case. It was, apparently, the linguistics courses which had made this individual aware that some of the problems were second language ones. The Chamorro course was taken

[1]This statement is based on a very limited survey of some such families on Guam which confirms a logical expectation.

by the teacher to provide an "in" into conversations of the students assisting in establishing greater rapport with them.[1]

The course in English as a second language which this junior high teacher taught as part of a remedial program apparently was the only one being taught at a junior high or elementary level. It seemed to be an independent innovation not connected with the upper level high school course mentioned above. Again it is not easy to reconstruct the courses being taught at any level at any one time.

It would appear that the Chamorro course at this particular period tended to reinforce the use of Chamorro by making outsiders more accessable without the use of English.

Overall there was a situation of constant change which came as a result of constant change of personnel, constant restructuring of organization and shuffling of the personnel which was available. Thus even the

[1] It is interesting to note in this connection that one observer of the present team suggests that Chamorro is used by present-day junior high school students as a secret language in courses taught by persons who cannot speak Chamorr

"official" philosophy behind the total program might change semester to semester and year to year. All that clearly emerges is that there was no coherent or organized program either to eliminate or to preserve Chamorro.

It should be noted, however, that here, by 1966, we have potential factors for accelerated change. There once had been no linguistic training or knowledge available, no awareness of the problems in any very explicit way. The bonehead college English course was typical of situations where explicit recognition of problems was lacking. Now there was in 1966, at least a general millieu of awareness of techniques and programs to influence the linguistic state of affairs. Many of those individuals involved probably realized only dimly or not at all that these new tools were only partially understood, and that end results might be more surprising than predictable; in short, that a controlled reaction was hard to achieve.

Of the possible polar opposites in respect to Chamorro, eliminating it or maintaining it, the idea of eliminating Chamorro was much more often overtly stated and stated by wider representation of the population. The number of times that a statesider heard the goal of preserving

or fostering the local language expressed was small indeed.

One of the few recorded by the investigators was the case of the sophomore in college who had been taught to read Chamorro by her mother because the mother believed she should be literate in her "own" language. This could be countered by many examples parallel to the student comment cited earlier on the uselessness of Chamorro, or views based on the implicit belief that interference makes bilinguals impossible. While the authors cannot provide a statistical count by social class of these opinions, the tendency in 1966-67 was pretty clear in an impressionistic way.

It would, however, appear that along with the new more powerful tools for rendering change, important attitudes toward the language situation had been introduced by modern linguistics.

These attitudes reinforced and supplemented the views represented by the family who taught children how to read "their" language. Perhaps just as important, the attitudes were made respectable. They were overtly counter to the "language interference" arguments for eliminating Chamorro and thus were counter to the programs

for accomplishing its elimination.

If the introduction of more sophisticated linguistic tools allowed recognition of problems and implementing of the demise of Chamorro it also provided a clearer picture for those supportive of Chamorro. It allowed them to recognize the goals and potential and results of the programs to replace the language which had muddled along since the first American school had been introduced. It was now easier for Chamorro advocates to recognize that an attempt was being made to make Guam an English speaking island and it provided more ammunition to counter these efforts, since linguistic science recognizes the possibility of bilingual individuals.

Possibly because of isolation of a great deal of the U.S. from bilingualism, the bilingual individual seems to be considered a myth by average U.S. laymen. That view seems to have been well nurtured in the American soils of Guam. Now there was something to counter this view.

One complex of factors bearing upon the language situation which the authors probably discounted too much were those clustering around the development of the tourist industry. In 1966, there was a newly established

tourist commission which had gone as far as developing a merchandizing slogan for Guam tourism but hadn't managed to attract many tourists or large hotel builders. Today's Guam Hilton was considered something of a joke which would never be realized. The schools of the island were dimissed when Guam's first cruise ship docked so that buses would be available for tours. The local newspaper discovered that someone taught Japanese at the College and this novelty was explored in the context of the oddity of the defeated former conqueror's language now being available for study on Guam. Tourism was very much a novelty. Guam was still isolated and the whole idea tended to be considered a joke in some circles and a distant ultimate goal in others.

Another important set of factors which were not given enough weight in attempting an extrapolation of the situation cluster around the educational system. These are primarily Head Start, Upward Bound and a bilingual program. The first two had influence beyond that anticipated. The latter was not anticipated at all.

Head Start and Upward Bound programs were just getting

underway on Guam in the 1966-67 period. Likely the reason for underestimating their potential effect is the general reaction of amused indifference which one more bureaucratic program often engenders in some circles. They were certainly underestimated in potential.

Overall it would appear that the authors of this paper were, by fortunate coincidence, present at a pivotal time in Guam's linguistic history. The mechanism for an accelerated change in the language situation was being set into place, including a relatively young linguistic science and a budding College becoming University.

Perhaps, too, it was happy coincidence that the authors were allowed to view the situation and then were removed from it for a time so that they could make their predictions and then return to the scene. This allows those predictions to be compared with what actually has (and will) take place. In the process there is a great potential for better understanding of what the significant components of such a situation are.

So, all of these things considered, what is the apparent situation in 1975 in respect to language on Guam?

Now in 1975, the foreignness and oddity of tourism are considered dim, distant novel bits of history. The tourist industry is visible throughout Guam in the form of international hotels, large contingents of (mostly) Japanese tourists on tour, bilingual (English-Japanese) signs at the airport, equally bilingual tourist guides, Japanese store signs in the downtown district (and increasingly in more distant areas) and many smaller things including even shelf price tags in village stores with YEN symbols, even though they are being used for U.S. dollar prices.

There is now an economic premium in being able to speak Japanese since you can be a guide, bus driver, hotel clerk, souvenir vendor, operate a stand to sell coconuts for the tourists to drink or stop Japanese traffic offenders. Few would suggest it strange for the University to teach Japanese which it does regularly. The two island high schools offer it as well, at least intermittently.

The building boom brought on by tourism and all of those other tousist related opportunities have brought in an influx of opportunity seekers. Many not only don't speak English or Chamorro; they don't speak Japanese either.

Where local radio once featured only the Ilocano hour now there is also the Filipino hour and the Korean hour. The fact that there is no Chinese hour doesn't eliminate the significant fact that there is a Chinese Association.

This situation, that is the diversity of the "new Guamanian", has created a new status for English. It now genuinely serves as a lingua franca for a fairly diverse group. The linguistic world of Guam can't be simply bifurcated English-Chamorro. The competition between the two languages now has enormous new weight on the English side of the balance because you now need English not only to speak to an ocassional statesider, you need it to deal with the diverse group of workers, shop keepers and residents and at least some of the tourists as well. You certainly have odds on a better chance using English rather than Chamorro in dealing with tourists.

From these many facts certain things emerge with some clarity. Chamorro is alive. It is less clear that it is well although it has attained a certain kind of respectability.

In day to day use there is a clear differentation in usage across generations. In one of the more

traditional villages this can be seen, for example, in language use in a village store.

The store keeper is a local man, middle aged, who because of his background has fluency in both Chamorro and English. He grew up in a traditional situation very much as described by Laura Thompson and is completely at home in the local language. The store is a typical small store on Guam, which serves a function similar to that of the neighborhood store once common in stateside cities. He has a free choice of language so far as fluency is concerned, so that has very little bearing on his language choice.

When people[1] of approximately 35 years or older come to the store it is almost certain ~~to be~~ that the transaction will proceed in Chamorro. In cases where the person is younger, in the range of 16 and up, there will probably be an attempt to address them in Chamorro as well, but it may break down as a result of the younger person switching.

However, in cases of children of, for example, those in the 1st grade (6 or 7 years) or younger there will probably be no attempt to establish Chamorro as the mode of communication. This would appear well founded since

[1]In all cases this refers to potential Chamorro speakers most of whom will be known to the store keeper, including salesmen, delivery men and local customers.

most parents in their twenties address their children in English, even if it means switching languages from the conversation with the store keeper. It isn't at all clear that many children in this age range have active control of Chamorro.

On the opposite end of the scale, people the age of their grandparents often have only minimal control of English. Some have been observed speaking English beyond 'hello' but only as a very belabored process. There are exceptions of course, such as the older person who may have stateside in-laws.

Here we have clear evidence for a switch of the language used across three generations, a rate of change greatly accelerated from the change over the period from the earliest Spanish settlement until very recent times. This was a change which was ~~one of the aims~~ at least implicitly predicted by the investigators.

The investigators observed that in 1966-67 some families were switching to English because of the pressure on their children to succeed in English schools and other pressures to use English in business. This can be

exemplified by the case recently observed. Behind the counter of this retail establishment a sign was posted exhorting employees to use English rather than Chamoro or Filipino or be discharged, since it was an English-speaking business. The establishment is locally owned.

This switch to English in turn implied the possiblity that a new dialect of English would arise. That would, of course, presuppose a change in the language choice between generations of the order observed here. Another prediction should have accompanied the prediction of a Guam dialect of English. Unfortunately in predicting the future of the Guam language situation it should have been more clearly realized by the investigators that a local dialect of English coming into existance is predicated on the eventual loss of Chamorro as a living language on Guam. This appears to be a reasonable prediction now, in spite of various attempts to maintain Chamorro which will be covered below. As families shift to English, a major factor in establishment of a new dialect in this case, they obviously abandon Chamorro and fewer and fewer younger persons actually gain control of Chamorro. As older people die less and less first language Chamorro will be spoken, following from the truism that languages don't die; their speakers do. These comments

are meant to apply to Guam only. The language is spoken in several other Mariana Islands[1] and the situation is likely quite different there at this time. In any case it would appear that the original hypothesis concerning a new dialect of English rising was a valid one.[2]

[1]Rota, Tinian and Saipan. The proposed new Commonwealth may lead eventually to a similar situation there.

[2]Incidentally, closely related to the question of the "Guam dialect" of English, if it is codified enough to deserve the term, is the common linguistic response among statesiders living as a minority in a Guamanian millieu. There is a strong tendency for people in this situation to switch, at least at times, to their own interpretation of Guamanian English. This has been observed in the middle aged stateside spouse of a Guamanian when the conversation is necessarily in English because of non-Chamorro speakers being included. It has been observed in stateside junior high students. It has been observed in elementary children to various degrees and in other stateside adults, as well, when confronted by long periods of conversation as the only statesider in a group of Chamorro speakers who use English to allow the statesider to be included. Whether this speech actually shows a clear relation to the characteristics of Guamanian English isn't yet clear since both need more study. However, characteristic intonation patterns certainly do. It is likely that certain other characteristics found in some Chamorro English such as the particle [si] used before proper names, e.g. [si Patrick], will not be there. However, it may be only rarely present in the speech of the young Guamanian who uses a form of English as the primary code.

The speech of the younger generation seems to be primarily English even in the more conservative village observed thus far. It appears that this might be a process which has progressed to a more advanced stage in more urban areas but none-the-less, the same. The details await further investigation.

In respect to this situation, the not well predicted influx of the large tourist industry probably had a reinforcing influence at least in the more urban areas. Although it hasn't been investigated, that may also be true of at least one southern village. This village has been developing as a "tourist" village ~~nearby~~ because of the proximity of certain tourist attractions which are partly an accident of geography and partly of history. That, too, remains to be further investigated.

There are efforts to counter the trend toward losing of the Chamorro language and culture. This, of course, can be labeled a revitalization movement. In this case it may be a process of loving the language to death. Several factors seem to have given rise to this. Probably not the least is the funding by the HEW of bilingual programs.

However, there are other factors involved. One is the increase in linguistic sophistication among those who

positions of influence on the island. Another may have just been the degree of threat to Chamorro which English had become. It may be typical that when the degree of tilt becomes great enough, a counter reaction to the swamping of the previous cultural state(revitalization movement) results.

At one time Chamorro was just part of the scene for all Guamanians. It was just something you did with some people and which after a certain time, at least, was something you avoided doing around schools and, to some extent, around statesiders in general.

Now in 1975, Chamorro is something that a great many people are much more self-conscious about. For an ever larger group of affluent Guamanians it has become a toy, an avocation. It is often studied at the University now and it is being reintroduced where it was not previously used such as a column in the newspaper. This group of Chamorrophiles is reinforced by other groups who see the maintainence of Chamorro desirable in their own varied ways.

Some, usually older, Guamanians decry the loss of old values and old ways. This includes the relationship of families and the formal respect paid to older siblings,

parents and grandparents. These relationships provided social control to a greater extent at an earlier time than now, though they are still maintained to some extent in more traditional communities.[1] The loss ofChamorro is seen as part of the loss of the old ways which is to be regretted and prevented if possible. Chamorro is seen as part of the cultural complex to be maintained by those of this view. Since the goal is seen as a reinforcement of home life, those of this general conviction wouldn't necessarily see the need for formal public or institutional support. On the other hand they wouldn't necessarily reject it.

There are, too, those closely akin to both of the above groups, who are interested in the technical aspects of the language and who provide an intellectualization and scholarly reinforcement for those less technically inclined.

From various members of this intellectual community flow texts, instructional materials and the various

[1]This whole social fabric of Guam society does, indeed, seem in a state of rapid change and there are visible social problems which can probably be attributed in part to this state of flux.

language supporting materials such as dictionaries and tourist guide books. This group tends to be interested in the maintenance of Chamorro for its own sake.

Another force in the movement to maintain Chamorro is a bilingual program in the public schools. This is a spinoff of various programs in the U.S. which on the mainland and Puerto Rico have most often concerned Spanish speakers.

The now official endorsement of more tolerance for multilingualism and multiculturalism (or perhaps it should be limited to "bi" in each case) has gone along with support for teaching more of the respective minority's culture and language. In the case of the mainland U.S., it frequently has involved teaching standard Spanish and Spanish literacy and an appropriate reinforcement of culture, for example, Mexican history to California migrant workers' children.

On Guam some of these financial sources at HEW have been tapped to prepare Chamorro reading materials and set up pilot Chamorro teaching programs in the elementary schools.

In part, this application for this program is an

outgrowth of the general millieu of Guam politics. In a place where the federal government presence has been extreme in many forms for all of this century, it has become natural to turn to federal support for assistance with almost any local problem. There is an expectation that aid will be available and the expectation is frequently realized. Since the advent of civilian government in the 1959's this aid takes the form of grants from federal agencies with such frequency that a grant is almost considered normal rather than exceptional procedure. The availability of such funds in any general area triggers such application automatically.

Given that situation on Guam, when the general mainland situation encouraged the financing of bilingual education, Guam applied and received support. It can't be determined but one possibility is that the objective of obtaining money may have been more important than the stated objectives of the program.

Setting aside possible motives the resulting program is thus far rather weak and limited in scope. The resulting language teaching material is so far only of the most introductory kind. The courses are offered only in certain island schools. Those are usually the ones in the least conservative, least traditional areas

where a great deal of English is spoken by the majority of people.

In fact, the program is considered by some in contact with it, as a program for teaching children the language, not for the teaching of reading in the native language, since the majority of families use English as a home language. Note the important difference between this goal and that of teaching migrant children to read their own language. Thus far, the areas which come closest to situation of California migrant children in that the native language is not English have no such program. Where a language other than English is most likely to be the first language the program is considered least necessary since it is viewed as a second language program, not a literacy program.

The situation, one of second language teaching, is thus a somewhat artificial situation. Areas where Chamorro is still viable do not have the native language reinforcement that a bilingual program in the accepted mainland sense would provide. Areas where Chamorro is weakest we find it being reintroduced. Areas where it is strongest it is being attacked by Head Start, for example. Head Start is certainly considered effective by some local

people in putting children in a position of learning fewer old Chamorro "ways" and of learning less Chamorro because English interceeds and replaces part of the development of Chamorro vocabulary. But since the language is considered viable in conservative areas, the bilingual program isn't considered necessary. It is likely that some persons involved don't realize the paradox in the planning.

Probably the main opposition to this program is directed against its continuation after the federal funding is exhausted. As is the case everywhere the local financing may not be available because of more "practical" immediate demands. Thus far the program is surviving but probably will not expand to areas of the island where Chamorro is more viable and more frequently spoken.

To summarize the effect of the bilingual program, it seems likely that the manner in which ~~the bilingual program~~ it is being implemented does not serve as any great reinforcement of Chamorro. If it were introduced where Chamorro is still a first language for a significant number of children and combined with some significant

cultural reinforcement, it might. Its present state seems more like the relation, for example, of scouting to the rugged outdoor life lived in the pioneer west, that is, a peripheral activity based on an already lost way of life. On the other hand, it is not yet clear what the effect of reintroduction will have.

It is clear that various "groups" supporting Chamorro are not discrete ones but that these various views of language maintenance and various activities intermingel and are often combined to varing degrees in the same individual. The overall result is a movement for preservation in 1975 which wasn't present in an earlier time.

The atmosphere of these efforts is one of artificality and superficiality, however. There is a comment, the original attribution of which has now been lost to the present authors, that when organizations come into being for the preservation of a language or a culture, you can be sure that it (the language or culture) is in an advanced stage of decay. We believe that this is true here in the case of Chamorro. The language may well be replaced on Guam in a considerably shorter time in the future than it has withstood European impact in the

past.

As was noted above these comments concern the island of Guam and is not intended to say anything concerning the situation of Chamorro in other places.[1] There is no reason to believe that English has made as many inroads in Chamorro on ~~these~~ other islands where it is spoken but more precise statements must necessarily await investigation.

Beyond the undated prediction of the demise of Chamorro one might at least venture a couple of opinions. It appears that those who use English as a first language[2] are essentially all of those persons of approximately 12 years or less. This may be lower in some lower class families but not all of them. If this is taken as a rough cutoff point one might predict that Chamorro will be gone when these 12 year olds are the oldest living generation. Even at that, this will be in the neighborhood of 70 or 80 years and depends upon no reversal of trend.

The demise of the last Chamorro speaker on Guam

[1] See Footnote 1, page 24.

[2] This doesn't necessarily mean only those who learned it as a first language.

is not likely to be the last trace of effect that the language has. The English it leaves behind will certainly not be unscathed. Some of the characteristics of English which is now spoken are very likely to be retained. Those characteristics are in the process of being investigated.

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